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from people's gardens. Men from whose gardens she has stolen sleep with her as payment for the food she has taken. Very many older men sleep with her, but young men are not brave enough."

Reasons for the lack of illegitimate children are not hard to find. If Ashley-Montague's* suggestions are correct, it is quite possible that fertility is low at the period when young girls are indulging in premarital sexual activities. Further, mechanical abortions are practiced, and a pregnant girl would probably attempt to avoid difficulties by a deliberate and early miscarriage. Although the society does not approve, married women, particularly older ones, make no very great secret of the fact that they avoid unwanted children by very vigorous labor or by even more deliberate attempts, like jumping repeatedly from a tree or rock or by jolting themselves in a squatting position against a stone. It is felt that these practices are most efficacious in the first two or three months, when the child is still in liquid form. Probably the accuracy of ideas on fetal development can be attributed in part to the practice of abortions.

There are also "medicines" that are supposed to reduce the menstrual flow, delay conception, and actually produce barrenness. In addition, women class themselves as "long conceivers" (*pol lobu*) and "short conceivers" (*pol bui*). To be a long conceiver is considered an advantage. When a young man's wife fails to conceive after a year or two, he frequently becomes suspicious of her and may accuse her of having taken a medicine to cause barrenness. "A man will then beat his wife, and if she has taken such a medicine, she has to ask some older woman for the antidote."

"Medicine" for any of the three purposes mentioned above seems to belong more to the realm of magic than to that of effective pharmacology. Most procedures consist of eating certain leaves, like those of a sort of maidenhair fern, in a prescribed fashion over a given number of days. Another way of producing barrenness is to drink the dirty water in which one has washed a gong. This is again a reflection of the relationship, hostile in character, between sex and wealth. Men are never considered to be sterile, and birth control measures are never used by them.

At this point I am less concerned with establishing the possible but improbable efficacy of certain leaves and procedures in reducing menstruation and in delaying or preventing conception than I am in indicating a series of attitudes. The sum of what I have said so far seems to

* M. F. Ashley-Montague, *Coming into Being among the Australian Aborigines* (New York: Dutton, 1938), pp. 242ff.

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pig and a fine. Then the girl's family paid me a Kolmale [13-rupiah moko] for the pig I had got from Alomale.

November 26, 1938

When I was still small, I went to live in Dikimpe with Langmani [his father's first cousin]. I stood on the verandah and jumped down. I did it over and over again, shouting, "I am a rooster. I am a rooster."

I was still small and the people of Dikimpe went to make war with Atimelang; then they went to wage war with Alurkowati. The people of Dikimpe shot at Mauglo, and an arrow hit his belt. They dragged him to Dikimpe and danced. They said it was as though they had taken his head. They shouted triumph [*lakabiet*]. [Mangma laughed at this episode.]

I stayed in Dikimpe two years. Then I went to Ruataug, where my father lived. I and my older brother, Malelaka, played at war and threw cornstalks at each other. Once when I was about twelve and Malelaka was about fourteen, I was roasting corn. Malelaka told me to hurry up and take off the pot. I didn't. Malelaka snatched the pot off the fire, set it on my knee, and burned me. I cried. My father scolded Malelaka and said he was bad; when he grew up he would get no wife. Malelaka cried then, "Yeah, yeah, yeah, I am going to Fuimelang to live." He went and fetched some dry grass to burn down the village. I told my father he had better go out and stop him, that my wound was not so bad that he needed to stay with me. So my father went out and stopped him. The next morning my father got a plant called *febaboti* and put it on my knee. All the skin had come off. After a while my wound got better.

I said to Malelaka, "We aren't friends any more. We are enemies." I threw a burning stick at Malelaka's stomach. Then I ran and climbed a tree. Malelaka took a firebrand and threw it at me. It struck my back. I cried and my father began to chase him. Malelaka ran away and went to live in Karieta. After a while, maybe a year, we both forgot our quarrel and Malelaka came back to live with us. Our parents told us to stop fighting. We went together to cut the field at Ruataug.

[Why did you go to live with Langmani in Dikimpe?] Just because I liked him, because he took good care of me. Langmani had no wife. I was like his child. I followed him around, ran errands for him, getting areca, water, fire, tobacco, or whatever he sent me for. Whatever he asked I did. I was there alone with him. Langmani said, "My older brother has many children; you come and stay with me."

I had been with Langmani a year when Rilpada's father, Padakalieta,

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Chapter 11

Rilpada the Seer

AUTOBIOGRAPHY *

February 1, 1939

When I was about eight years old, my mother and father quarreled. [59x] Then my father went to live with his second wife, Kolkalieta. My mother cried because just then her older sister [classificatory] died in Atimelang. She cried very hard. I asked, "Why is this? I am still small, and my father goes to stay with his other wife, and you are crying for a dead kin? What shall we roast for her death feast?" I took my bow and arrow and went to Lenmasang. Lonmale's pig was in the pen and I shot it. His son Simon threw stones at me and wounded my knee. Alomale said, "Now you have wounded my uncle, so he must take the pig and roast it." The pig was worth a Piki [5-rupiah moko]. So I took it to Old Dikimpe and Fanleti carried it to Atimelang to roast. That night Fanleti brought home the ham, neck, and back. Before we had eaten it, Lonmale came to complain. So we paid twenty cents, a broken gong worth a rupiah, and ten corn bundles of forty ears each. Then Lonmale said, "The corn is for me to eat, but I shall count the money and the broken gong as a dowry payment. Next time ask me before you shoot and I will give you a pig."

When I was about six or seven, I went to sleep in Alofe's house. We slept close to each other. His mother was cooking. She upset the pot and hot water spilled on my knee. It swelled and the skin peeled off. Father thought I would die if he didn't doctor me, so mother carried [752] me down to the ravine and father put algae on my wound. I urinated [278] in father's hand as he held me. Father then carried me in his scarf up to Puorkaivi, where he hunted rats. He shot two and gave them to me. He dug tubers, roasted them with the rats, and we ate. Then father carried me up to Old Atimelang. The people there were buying a Fehawa moko and were giving a dance for it that night. Father went to the dance, and I cried hard for him.

When my leg was well and I was twelve or thirteen, I went to Dikimpe. There I joined the people who were having their teeth blackened. We all went to hunt rats. One day I alone shot fifteen, the next day I got ten, and on the third day fifteen again. I got so many I lost [25] track of them. I smoked them dry and saved them. There were three

* Rilpada's dreams were collected separately and are given in a separate section.

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159 them to me to eat, and the unripe ones we brought home and gave to my younger siblings.

[Was she glad to go to her husband's house to live?] I did not want to go, but father and mother spoke nicely to me, so I went. His house was at the other end of the village. I stayed there from then on. Helangfani took me there. She was the wife of Likma's father's brother. In the household were many people. Likma's parents were dead. In the house lived Likma, his paternal uncle, Maipada, and Maipada's wife, Helangfani. There also lived Mailang, Kolmani, Lanmo, Lakaseni, Atamai, Maraipada, and Atabiki. Most of these were grown up. Kolmani and I were the only children. Likma was already grown up. He was eighteen or twenty. From then on I forgot my family. I went all the time with Kolpada [the wife of Langmai] to fetch wood and water and to work in the gardens. When I went there my husband wanted to sleep with me but I said that first he must buy my mother's strip of cloth. After one year father died. [Note the inconsistency with her previous statement.] Then my husband raised pigs and used two to buy a strip of cloth for my mother. We slept together from then on. Mother lived a long time. [She died about 1931.]

[How long before the birth of a child?] I had been in Likma's house [842 ●278] six years before Fuifani was born. I took a contraceptive. [That is, she chewed a leaf. She showed signs of embarrassment when she spoke of this subject.]

December 26, 1938

Last night I dreamed that Fuimau [the wife of Padata the Leper] made a feast in Karieta. She came to ask Likma for a dowry payment. He gave her a broken gong. She asked him to add a piglet to it. I said, "There is no pig and no dowry here for you. You come all the time asking for dowry payments." So Fuimau said, "Your bride-price payment, a Kolmale moko, is waiting for you; so add a pig to the broken gong." But we did not want to, so she took the broken gong and we all went to Karieta with it. When we got there, there was in truth a Kolmale moko. When we wanted to take it, the chief of Karieta said, "Add a pig." We left the moko there and went away. Then I woke up. [This was probably not a dream but an actual account of the preceding day's activity.]

When we went there, they were cooking pounded corn. That means [787] someone in the house will die. The dream also means that I shall really give Fuimau a dowry payment and get back a bride-price.

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you are my child, so we can work together." When my child was sick, I didn't go out to the fields; I just stayed with her. At this time Lonmobi dug tubers and picked greens to help me. [Was your child in Atimelang at the time?] Yes, I had gone to File for beans. Wolmo [her child] returned with me and got sick. Then we went to live with Kolmani [a seeress]. Lonmobi came and stayed with us at Kolmani's house. [Kolmani was Lonmobi's mother's brother's son's wife.]

[In the midst of this Lomani digressed to tell the interpreter that as soon as she had finished she was going to get a pig to give the chief of Atimelang, who was divorcing his second wife. The pig was wanted by the chief to feed the judges and litigants.]

Once Mailang of Folafeng litigated because Senmani stole his gong. [This was less than a year ago.] Djetmani told me to cook corn for the people. I asked where I was to get the corn, so he told me there was a bundle in his loft and to use it. So I took it up to Folafeng and pounded and cooked it to feed the litigants. [Note how rarely she spoke of partaking in feast activities.] When I finished the corn, I sat down with Lopada. She said that it would be a long time before Senmani paid and they would probably have to make another litigation, so we could go back to our garden work and do other things meanwhile. After that we came back down here to Atimelang. It was the time that Djetmani wanted to make a feast for Maliemai [his first wife]. So Djetmani went to Kafe to ask for pigs. When he came back he was sick. Lonmobi and Maleta said that Djetmani had better come live with Kolmani the Seeress to be treated by her. So we went there to stay. He vomited and sweated a lot and didn't get well fast. Then Fanseni Longhair said it was because his nera house [wealth-bringing spirit] had to be fed, so Djetmani took a hen there and fed the nera spirits. We stayed with Fanseni two days. Then I went back to stay with Kawaimani, and Djetmani went back to Maliemai, his first wife. They decided Djetmani had been poisoned, and so Maleta called Maugkari to bring a poison antidote. Maugkari went to Afaberka for the right roots. He gave them to Djetmani to drink. Then Djetmani got well. He wanted to go out. He went to bathe. When he came back he stayed with Maliemai. He made the verandah for his Rolik feast and told me to go and stay with his Male House kinswoman, Tilaleti. While I was staying with Tilaleti, he came over one night and spoke with her, saying he didn't want me as a wife and I had better go away. At this time he was already staying with Falepangmau [who became his third wife]. But I remembered the rice for the feast, so the next morning I went to pound